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Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

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/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

778 One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

353 778 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

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353 778 [792] 778 789 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and carved figures. All these things are sacred; the Indian calls them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.

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Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 [124] The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

• [776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vusú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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539 His wife is Nhande-Sy (Our Mother). -- In ancient times this
• [776] divine couple inhabited the earth. One day, however, the god ascended to heaven, while Nhande-Sy remained behind on earth (9). -- There the earth god, Curussú Nheengarú (the

9. Cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen /Myths/," etc., pp. 317 f.

speaking cross), met her and was inflamed with love for her. He succeeded in winning the heart of the goddess. Soon afterwards, however, he left her. Now she went in search of Nhande-Rú-Vussú, but she /226/ did not know the way. She therefore asked the children in her womb. At first she received accurate information from them. As they became tired, however, they became inattentive, and finally they were mistaken and indicated the wrong way, which led to the house of the jaguar. At that time the jaguars were still human beings, hence "beginning of the jaguar" (10). The jaguar devoured the goddess and pulled

10. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., pp. 121 ff. and p. 122, who reports specifically on the origin of the animals. A comparison with the mythology of the Dêtoana, in which the animals originated as a result of the transformation of human beings, is interesting. Cf. my study, "Creencias /Beliefs/," etc. -- The Puruborá likewise speak of the "beginning of the jaguar"; this jaguar, still human, is called Karurá.

the children out of her womb in order to take them to his grandmother, who had scarcely any teeth and thus needed tender meat for her diet. The old one, however, took a fancy to the two boys and did not want to kill them. So they remained with her and were reared by her like grandsons. The two children were Cuarahy, the sun, and Yasy, the moon. -- When they were only

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539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Mariti.

778 826 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

• 776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." --- /Fig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following ways: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

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Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

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Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

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~~/230/~~ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

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776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

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796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ẽ
539 rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý
782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is
533 the elder brother; hence, nhandery-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ẽ = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body
• [776] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
[778] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly wide-
796 spread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
539 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs
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"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ŝe resá.
Nhanderykeý mbaraká ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý ha dŷyroký ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý kuakuahá ŝe resá,
Nhanderykeý tembetá ŝe resá."

Translation:

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

796 [776] [778] The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called [622] saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /233/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost [793] chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office, [792] the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their [534] tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house: Against [778] one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside [237] it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

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881 262 753 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt. At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should [263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 82 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/, which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, particularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[ML] The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of [184] the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá, for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the [171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 882 178 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses, the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstruation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

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many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

According to Poýdjú from Araríba, nowadays many Ñandéva already admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý." But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream, tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bilinear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

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without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroky (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãsy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

2: Schaden--142 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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842 775 184 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the village of Rio Branco expressed himself, "it is not in order to return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down." It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the father (6).

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6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 842 184 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

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775 828 177 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors, has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the 774 178 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the [828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected [789] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

2: Schaden--155 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/121 cont./
774 828 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("fiandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváfiemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kaflinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination fiemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
[818] Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celestial region called yrukútýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 796 ### 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

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782 424 114 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to [123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüa of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [796] [829]

782 778 774 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language [192] or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

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782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency
782 of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
778 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
[775] among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[787] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

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782 778 424 622 736 [171] The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).

14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order [262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of [115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with [755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances 756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a 622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean. 123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a [776] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

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782 126 828 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my

782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the

• [776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.

[787] [424] It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-

782 789 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 829 One final observation with reference to the function of the prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (Nemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has

78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-

182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional

177 doctrines themselves.

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal
[763] experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also
782 those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeẽgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication.
[184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large
[787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or
[776] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not neces-
775 sarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of
773 death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

/141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

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776 796 789 782 159 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise" is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 533 776 771 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player, as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 778 177 159 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individuals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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771 776 177 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 177 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 783 177 178 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least of little importance in the body of the collective representations of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot [829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

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which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind, they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añã). The devil catches the souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port. rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it. This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every soul must go through the realm of añã. Besides the "condemned" souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity, has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion, when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day; I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paĩ Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

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534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkuẽ ʃ, with a string of pindó ryvʃ (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embireko) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ʃ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ʃ djúretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[176] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ʃ would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guaranias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaranʃ history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. 789 177 On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São [1946] Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguéry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [191] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

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• 776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ỹ); it [184] [179] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is 776 177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

773 121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

2: Schaden--211 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Ñandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Ñanderykey, designating it as yvý-ñomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gês-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[75] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[76]

[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[75] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestizo adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [76] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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• 776 This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

775 The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to
*174 generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were [762] probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with [372] the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the [764] newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. [171] Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been [609] characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[9] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

778 There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other
346 similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the
*175 Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *paγé*, displayed

[9] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.

3; Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbaraká*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapái* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbaraká* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80-81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played

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RELIGION

•776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 776 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [791] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.

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Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Caingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

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A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

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generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Paĩ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea.

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Arĩ* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Arĩ*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distinguished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Paĩ* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
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narrow limits as to render them incapable of knowing, or at least suspecting the existence of a God, the creator and governour of all things, from the sight of the things created. The nation of the Guaranies, though formerly very ferocious, knew the supreme Deity, whom they call *Tupá*, a word composed of two particles, *tú*, a word of admiration, and *pá*, of interrogation. I said that the Abipones were commendable for their wit and strength of mind; but, ashamed of my too hasty praise, I retract my words, and pronounce them fools, idiots, and madmen. Lo! this is the proof of their insanity! They are unacquainted with God, and with the very name of God, yet affectionately salute the evil spirit, whom they call *Aharaigichi*, or *Quecvèt*, with the title of grandfather, *Groaperikie*. Him they declare to be their grandfather, and that of the Spaniards, but with this difference, that to the latter he gives gold and silver, and fine clothes, but that to them he transmits valour; for they account themselves more courageous and intrepid than any of the Spaniards. Should you ask them what their grandfather formerly was, and of what condition, they will confess themselves utterly ignorant on the subject. If you persist in your interrogations, they will declare this grandfather of theirs to have been an Indian—so barren and absurd is their theology.